UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

If Not Prohibition, Then What?

By JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

What We Have to Be Thankful For

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II. Chapter X. By M. K. GANDHI

Some Geneva Gains

By DOREMUS SCUDDER

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1926 NUMBER 12

A PRAYER

The way, O God, is sometimes dark,
Black doubts and fears arise,
We stumble on the upward path,
Enlighten thou our eyes.

Help us to see the beckoning gleam
Held high by prophet souls,
Keep us from stopping by the way
At any lesser goals.

Plant in our hearts that seed of faith
Which blossoms into deeds,
Lest in our own pursuit of truth
We heed not others' needs.

With earnestness, O God of all,
We ask thee for more light,
More strength and deeper sympathy
That we may live aright.

For UNITY. MARGUERITE EMILIO.

Mr. Butler was defeated for the senatorship in Massachusetts. President Coolidge singled him out among all candidiates for a personal and official sponsorship. Though he lost the senatorship, Mr. Butler is still qualified, according to the President, to retain the Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee. Indeed, his qualifications are now enhanced, for, relieved of senatorial duties, he can devote more of his time and talent to the management of the presidential campaign of 1928. Now, there is just one possible 1928 candidate who can conceivably desire Mr. Butler for a campaign manager. The President undoubtedly thought of that candidate before anybody else did. It has been surmised by some editors that Mr. Coolidge does not really mean to be a candidate in 1928, but that it is good politics to lie low, and not spring his disavowal until after the time when its taking of "the fear of God" out of the hearts of his political foes and lukewarm followers in Congress can work political mischief. But this definite demand for Mr. Butler as the 1928 campaign manager would seem capable of only one interpretation. For if Mr. Coolidge is not himself to be a candidate, he is compounding the defeat of the candidate who is put forward, provided a republican defeat is conceivable in these piping times of income tax rebates! Any other candidate will certainly want a different manager, and the removal of Mr. Butler and the installation of his successor the last day in the afternoon will cause a ruction within the party effects of which are not pleasant for the faithful to contemplate. If, on the other hand, Mr. Coolidge persists in his candidacy and wins the nomination for a term in the presidency two years longer than that of Washington, of Jefferson, of Wilson, three years longer than that of Roosevelt, more than twice as long as that of Lincoln,—well, will even Coolidge luck and sphinxian political sagacity stand the strain?

Governor Smith has won his fourth term as Governor of New York. Republican as well as Democratic wiseacres are sure that this insures him the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1928. The most of them are also agreed that an outstanding if not the dominant issue of the campaign in 1928 will be the "wet" and "dry" controversy. Smith will be the "wet," and shall it be agreed that Coolidge will be the "dry?" Why not Borah? Coolidge will go in with the tradition against a third term clanking about his heels. Smith will face the solid south with the Tammany tiger licking his chops and grinning out between his legs. The south is not only solidly democratic but it is "dry" —at least for Negro consumption! What will be the fate of a "wet" Tammany candidate in the south, solidly Democratic though it has been these two generations? And what will the "drys" in the rest of the country make of so lukewarm a "dry" as the present administration's enforcement policy has made its chief appear to be? How many nominal "drys" will choose to rebuke the attempt to break the third term tradition rather than support so equivocal a "dry"? Then again, on the other hand, what will Mr. McAdoo and his irreconcilables do to the Smith candidacy within the Democratic ranks in the south, in California, and many elsewheres? Oh me, oh my! what a life! And Mr. Coolidge seems to be holding Mr. Butler in the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, as we have just seen above, with a view to advancing his own candidacy in 1928? Verily politics are too much for the layman. All we can do is to fall back upon the hope that the more confusion there is, the more chances will emerge for the wreck of some of the old smug policies and programs which now strain the patience of the most enduring and break the courage of the most doughty.

Mr. McAfee's incisive "leader" in this issue on "If Not Prohibition, Then What?" is in nothing more studiously ironical than in its acceptance of the easy

verdict of the press that the election results were a triumph for the "wets." Articles and cartoons have combined to present the vote as a kind of Noah's flood engulfing the unhappy "drys." But was it? On the day following the elections, it was jubilantly announced that seven of the eight state referenda on the liquor question had been carried by huge majorities for the "wets." Three days later the seven victories had been cut down to five. But why talk about the referenda, which the "drys" had refused to take seriously, and in many states had refused even to oppose. The real referenda, said the "drys," were the candidacies for office, especially in Congress. Here we got a different result! In the new House, for example, the "drys" will have approximately 300 out of 435 seats, and in the Senate 70 out of 96 seats. In Ohio, the victory of Senator Willis was a smashing defeat for the "wets." In Massachusetts, where Senator Butler, the friend and mouthpiece of Mr. Coolidge, was marked for cruel slaughter, his running mate, Gov. Fuller, in a set-up and knock-down fight on Prohibition, himself a "bone-dry," defeated his "dripping wet" opponent by a huge majority. In Illinois, which carried the "wet" referendum, the "old soak," Mr. Brennan, was overwhelmingly beaten by the Anti-Saloon League candidate, Mr. Smith. In New York, the "drys" did exactly what they set out to do—they retired Senator Wadsworth. The net result of the election, says that intelligent reporter, Mr. David Lawrence, "is a stand-off between the 'wets' and the 'drys.'" The line of battle is unbroken on both sides. This means, for the "drys" at least, that the "wets' are not yet beaten. They are well-organized, militant, unscrupulous, and abundantly provided with funds. The "drys" have the enormous advantage of being inside the citadel, with all the weapons of government at their disposal. But just for this reason must they fight long and fight hard to hold the fort against the hidden wiles and open assaults of the enemy.

One of the most impressive facts in the Prohibition situation is the unbroken line of judicial decisions which sustain the contentions of the "drys." From the beginning the "wets" have tried to prove that the "drys" were doing unconstitutional, lawless, anarchistic things. For the sake of making the country a Sahara desert, they were tearing the Constitution into tatters, defying all law and order, riding rough-shod over the liberties of the people, etc., etc. One would think, from the way these charges were bandied about, that the Prohibition advocates were "high-binders" of the most ruthless type. Of course, from the beginning issues in dispute began to come before the courts for settlement; and from the beginning, also, unless our memory is utterly at fault, the courts have without exception sustained the procedure of the "drys." The ridiculous attempt to prove the 18th Amendment unconstitutional was a quick and utter fizzle. Attack after attack upon the Volstead Act similarly failed, every court process only made it the more impregnable. On no question has the fight been hotter than on that of "double jeopardy" so-called—the punishment of a man for a single offence under both the national law and the state law. This was the final and perfect evidence of the despotism of the "drys"—their utter defiance of all law, precedent, custom, and inherent right. Now comes the Supreme Court to declare that the dual process under national and state laws is entirely constitutional. When a man breaks the liquor law he commits two offences, not one, wherever a state enforcement law exists, and he can be tried and punished twice, once under the federal law and again under the state law, "without any infraction of the constitutional rule against double jeopardy." So once again the "wets" go down to defeat in the courts! We have ourselves no belief in the infallibility of courts, and assume no identity between a judicial decision and the right. But it is well to notice, all the same, especially in view of all the "wets" are saying, that the whole Prohibition policy has been an absolutely legal procedure from the beginning.

Ere long it will be somebody's business seriously to account for the reception of Queen Marie in the United States. She is apparently a charming woman. But there are others. She is a queen. There are not many others, to be sure, but Americans are supposed to have done with royalty. Are they so thoroughly done that the few remaining specimens may properly be esteemed curiosities? Does Marie rank with the dinosaur's eggs, only a little more interesting because more lively and changeable? Rumania is remote and little is known of it. Are Americans eager to learn more? They are learning. They are learning a deal more than Marie cares to tell them. Current reviews of Rumania's war policy, and post-war policy, and the policy under which "peace" is preserved throughout the enlarged domain of Marie's Hohenzollern spouse, are very informing. They are appearing these latter days in numerous American journals, serious and other. Americans are likely to be much better informed about these things than they were before the Queen came. And what they learn most to the point will not be that of Marie's telling. It is already clear that Marie's visit is a stupendous program of propaganda. Even its promotors are probably by this time surprised by its proportions. And perhaps considerably disconcerted! They did not consciously stage the sensation attending the climbing of Sam Hill aboard the royal train, nor his climbing off. They did not anticipate quite such a popular gawking. Marie herself is game. She is seeing the business through, and even says that she likes it. The young people probably do, more or less, now that they are unleashed from the

royal maternal apron-strings for an occasional fling on their own. None of the current comments is final. We shall know more when we have thought more, and perhaps seen and heard more.

Roger W. Babson talks sometimes very wisely and sometimes very foolishly about religion and other things. But his long training has given him ability to find and recognize *facts,* if not ability always to handle them effectively in his thought processes. Hence the genuine importance of his recent statement about the condition of religion and the churches at this time. These are his words, as reported in the Boston *Herald*:

> Religion today is where the physical sciences were 300 years ago. Religion is the greatest force in the world and holds the only key to the solution of all our problems, yet conventional religion is still in the superstitious stage. The church today is where the electrical laboratory was when Franklin flew his kite in that thunder storm 150 years ago.
>
> It is true that the churches publish great memberships, but we know that this membership is largely formal and does not represent a vital interest. Certain faithful people still attend divine worship, but the great mass of people are dropping away from the churches in tremendous numbers. The sooner we frankly face the facts the better for all concerned. Yet, when the people again learn to pray we will see a renaissance which will shake the world.
>
> How are the churches holding the few people which they do hold? An analysis shows that the Catholics do so by clinging to a certain ritual, the Presbyterians by an outworn creed, the Methodists by a great business organization and so on down the list. The Congregationalists worship freedom, the Unitarians worship intellect and other denominations specialize along other lines. But are any of these great denominations meeting the problems of life fairly and squarely by putting religion in the laboratory test tube and letting the chips fall where they will?

Mr. Babson has the facts here, even if he does mix his metaphors about test-tubes and chips. We particularly relish his recognition of what we have again and again emphasized to the point of weariness, that church statistics amount to less than nothing at all. Every six months, or every year, we are regaled with figures, carefully compiled by denominational boards, showing the enormous gains in church membership. Tommy-rot! Mr. Babson, apparently, is willing to concede the formal accuracy of these figures. We refuse even to do that! Eliminate the "lost, strayed, or stolen," the duplications, the names which should long since have been transferred from church books to tomb-stones, and especially the little children helplessly made church members without any will, desire, or even knowledge of their own, and church membership would be reduced in total from a third to even a half, if not more. But behind these alleged statistics is the greater question, which concerns Mr. Babson, of "vital interest." Granted that the figures are scrupulously accurate—what of it? What is a church member worth who spends his Sunday mornings in the automobile, and his Sunday evenings at the radio? There are certain areas where religion is still alive—the Fundamentalist areas of the South and West. But this is only one more fact to prove Mr. Babson's contention that religion today "is still in the superstitious stage."

If Not Prohibition, Then What?

So it is decided. We do not want Prohibition. That is the reading of the various referenda of the late election, according to the press. Scores of the outstanding daily and weekly journals of the land declare that now no question remains relative to the popular will.

Of course the most avid or deluded cherish no thought of the early rescinding of the 18th Amendment of the federal Constitution. Few believe that the Volstead Act will be abrogated or even altered by the Congress which the late decisive election brought into power. Just what is going to happen? We are not going to have Prohibition. What are we going to have?

Millions of those who did not vote in the recent referenda, and many also of the considerable number who did vote "No," want Prohibition which prohibits. They join with those who voted "Yes" in profound dissatisfaction with what now goes by the name of Prohibition. They wish to see the 18th Amendment honored, and the Volstead Act enforced.

But this is too simple. The millions who voted "Yes" are not prepared to accept so obvious a proposal. They do not want Prohibition which actually prohibits. They do not want even the loose enforcement which they sneeringly maintain leaves every one free to indulge his appetite as he may chose. Let us give them credit for wishing to be law-abiding. They demand only that the law conform to their wishes. However easy it may be to "get the stuff" under present conditions, the descent of a federal deputy is always possible, however unlikely. Besides, twinges of conscience probably do get on the nerves of many.

So, Prohibition, loose or tight, is unsatisfactory. What then? There are several proposals.

(1.) A return to the *status quo ante bellum.* No! Not practicable! Impossible by the verdict of most of those who vociferously voted "Yes" in the late referenda. They vehemently assert that they do not wish a return of the saloon, thereby confessing that, to this extent at least, Prohibition has been and still is a success.

(2.) Another proposal is government monopoly of liquor manufacture and distribution. This is delicious, considering the source of the proposal. It is advanced by the very group who cry out in horror over the government ownership and operation of the railroads, or of other public utilities. Yet their extremity seems so great that they apparently wish to be taken seriously when they propose that an enterprise whose

entire history in America demonstrates it to offer opportunities for the foulest political corruption, shall be assumed by the government.

There have been a few timid pointings toward other countries where this method has been adopted. But the corruption which is now known to prevail under the system in Canada, for instance, has taken a crimp in the pride with which such pointings are made. But even though the system might work elsewhere with a degree of success, with what face can those who fight the injection of government into business and of business into government propose that our government shall undertake so hazardous a business?

(3.) Well, then, let us have absolute freedom in this matter of the use of alcohol. Let us throw off all the inhibitions and seductions by which liquor drinking has been entangled, and give the common sense and free choice of the people a chance. Good! Capital!! Everybody of liberal mind, everybody who believes in the people, must approve a proposal so sound in principle and so workable in practice.

Only let its proponents see that it is put into practice! There would have been no agitation for Prohibition, if the principle had been consistently practiced. What put Prohibition over was the unreasonable and outrageous propaganda on the part of the liquor interests by which the people were robbed of their liberty. Almost any parent would trust the common sense of his son or daughter to decide upon the question of the personal use of alcohol, if he or she were let alone. But people were not being let alone before Prohibition. Prohibition is simply the answer of an outraged public to commercial interests which scrupled at no extreme of legal and illegal propaganda in debauching the people, young and old. Under the old saloon system there was no liberty. There was oppression. There was the deliberate and often malicious robbery of the most precious boons of freedom, under the spur of greed. Will any one guarantee a genuine liberty if the advocates of Prohibition will agree to forego their attempts to restrain this fell power?

(4.) There remain the five-percenters, the ten-percenters, the twenty-percenters, the numerous persons who appear to believe that, with the provision for the sale of somewhat higher percentages of alcoholic content in beverages than are now permitted, the bootlegger of the highest percentages will forthwith reform, and that his patron will join him in abandoning lawlessness. It is hard not to believe that either guilelessness or chicane, one or the other, prompts such proposals.

The bootlegger cannot be reformed. He will not be law-abiding so long as there is money to be got from vending liquor,—and he can get away with it. The alcoholic content will be what he can sell, never what the law allows him to sell. And the content will be what will cultivate the securest appetite for his wares. The question of how much alcoholic content induces intoxication does not trouble him. Surely no one seriously proposes to put the bootlegger of hard liquors out of business by putting light wines and beer on the market legally. The bootlegger will still be with us to be handled by the stern processes of law. Which is the problem of today!

All right. We are to abandon Prohibition. Will somebody now step forward to tell us what we shall have in its place? His program must be definite. Above all it must command the assent of a safe and contented majority of the population in each social unit. When a Congress comes into office which believes itself commissioned to abrogate the Volstead Act, it will be exceedingly interesting to watch it fabricate the law which is to take the place of Mr. Volstead's essay. The Kilkenny cats put up a tame show compared with what we shall then see.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

Jottings

We envy our contemporaries their opportunities to get new subscribers. When the excellent *Christian Register* wants to boost its circulation, it launches a campaign in the Unitarian churches, with every minister a subscription agent. *Zion's Herald* had a "Zion's Herald Day," on October 31st, for a "strong appeal for new subscriptions, (followed) with a vigorous personal canvass." Lucky fellows! UNITY has to go it alone—no churches, no denominational machinery, to see us through. Only our individual friends! These are our exclusive reliance—and they do not fail.

Now that the Detroit excitement over church and labor is past, it may well be remembered that Detroit was the ecclesiastical seat of the late Bishop Charles R. Williams. If ever a ghost walked, Williams's ghost walked that stormy week.

Is Roosevelt being forgotten? In a bookseller's window the other day we saw a job-lot of publishers' left-overs, perfectly fresh new books, offered for sale at bargain prices. Conspicuous among them, standing in stacked-up piles or rows of volumes, were Bradley Gilman's "Roosevelt, the Happy Warrior," $3.50, reduced to $1.50; Herman Hagedorn's "Roosevelt in the Bad Lands," $5, reduced to $2.50; and Thayer's "Theodore Roosevelt, An Intimate Biography," $5, reduced to $1.85. These were mark-downs—sure sign

of the mark-down in interest and importance which Roosevelt's reputation is bound to suffer ever more and more in the future.

Houdini and Annie Oakley died within a week of one another. The former was the greatest wonder-worker; the latter the greatest rifle-shot, of his (her) time. The names of both will be forever associated with marvel and entertainment.

And Mussolini spake unto them, and said:

So long as nothing happens to me nothing will happen to you. Neither the petty insinuations of hypocrites nor the gestures, direct or indirect, of obstinate advisers; no thing, no force in the world can make me deviate from my path. I have a duty to accomplish. I have orders to respect. I have taken upon myself an engagement to give material and moral grandeur to the Italian people.

"Verily, the man is a genius," writes the journalist who reports this statement. May be so! Napoleon was a genius. But the people who will stand for this sort of egotistical bombast are as pitiable today as the French were more than a century ago.

A friend has "caught" us on the debt question! We argued that an honest nation should pay its debts exactly like an honest individual. To which our friend answered, "Where *is* there an honest nation? Why talk about things that don't exist?" To which we in turn answered—just nothing at all.

J. H. H.

What We Have to Be Thankful For

Do not most of us have a hundred times more blessings than we realize or appreciate?

Is there anything in life that is so beautiful, or that does so much to bring sunshine into all our days, as a grateful spirit?

What is gratitude? Some one has defined it as the "heart's fragrance." Has the heart any other fragrance to shed forth that equals this? Is the perfume of flowers so sweet as gratitude?

And ingratitude—how bitter is it! Do you remember Shakespeare's words in King Lear?:

> Blow, blow, thou wintry wind,
> Thou art not so unkind
> As man's ingratitude.

We should not forget that gratitude has a double nature. It has to do with our relations on the one hand to our fellow men and on the other to God. Of the beauty of the grateful spirit in its manifestation toward men few will doubt. Wherever this spirit appears in human society all men instinctively recognize its charm and its worth.

There are many kinds of culture that are important. Is there any that is finer, or more essential for a happy, useful and noble life, than cultivation of a spirit that responds with quick appreciation and gratitude to all kindnesses and all good received from our fellows, no matter who they may be, friend or stranger, young or old, rich or poor?

This culture should begin early in life. Nor is it easy, there are so many things that war against it. It is so easy for the child to form the habit of receiving all its good without thinking about the source; to form the habit of greed, of selfishness, of caring for its own wants and its own interests, and forgetting those from whose toil and love its blessings come. And this habit formed in the child is likely to be carried through life, constituting in the man or woman a very unlovely character. Such a life is poisoned at its very center. It is a diseased life. Parents should be careful that they let not germs of this cancer of the soul—an inappreciative and ungrateful spirit—get a lodgement within their children.

And all of us should carry on the discipline, as long as we live, of trying to eradicate from ourselves whatsoever germs of this evil disease there may be within us. To this end we must be constantly on our guard against the spirit which thinks only of self, the egoistic spirit, the spirit which cares only to get and not to give, the spirit of money-worship, the spirit of unprincipled competition which is so rife, the spirit of the times which would subordinate everything else to material success, to getting ahead of others, to getting on in the world. Even the pursuit of knowledge when carried on for only selfish ends, becomes an enemy to this finer culture of the soul. Nobody can afford to purchase knowledge with soul-deformity, any more than he can afford to purchase money with such deformity. Nobody can afford an intellectual culture that leaves his nature dwarfed or misshapen or ossified on the heart side, the social side, the side toward friendship and love and human interests.

Does any one chafe at the demand written in our very natures, that we must give, give, give, with little thought of any return, if we would have a noble or a happy life? Let the message of the angel in the following lines reveal to him his error:

> "Go break to the needy sweet charity's bread,
> For giving is living," the angel said.
> "And must I be giving again and again?"
> My peevish and pitiless answer ran.
> "Oh, no," said the angel, piercing me through,
> "Just give till the world stops giving to you."

Sour bread on my table is bad; but a sour, selfish and ungrateful spirit in my bosom is worse. When the frost gets into your winter conservatory among your delicate and beautiful plants it spreads blight and ruin. But the frost of selfishness, of unthankfulness, of want of appreciation of the good received from others, spreads worse blight and ruin among the tender and beautiful plants of the soul. No loveliest blossoming or finest fruitage of the soul can ever take place in the chill air of a thankless spirit. But gratitude and an appreciative spirit are sunshine, and, wherever they are found life and joy and loveliness forthwith appear.

Parents do you wish to stimulate what is best in your children? Appreciation will bring it out. Set about appreciating whatever good you see in them. Speak appreciatively of their efforts to do their best and to be their best. Be grateful and let them see that you are, whenever they are kind and thoughtful, and whenever they give you their confidence. Thus new desires and ambitions for excellence will spring up within them. It will become easier and easier for them to do well. They will learn to like to do well because

when they do well you notice it, appreciate it, are proud of them because of it.

And what is true in regard to the relations between parents and their children, is in large measure true also in the relations of teachers to their pupils, and indeed in the relations of us all to all our fellows. We cannot drive people to goodness; we must win them. And the greatest winning power in the world is appreciation.

There are thousands of lives all up and down the world that never come to much, whom a little kindly appreciation would have stirred, quickened, thrilled, transformed into lives of beauty, strength, and great usefulness. Oh what debts we all owe each other! What debts we owe our fellow men, living and dead! How little of the good that we enjoy in this world has come from ourselves, and how much from others! How slight a return it is for all we receive, that we should have a grateful spirit! I have seen homes that are very heavens on earth. Sometimes I think that God cannot have anything better for us in any world than such homes are. Some of these homes are very humble. What makes them so beautiful? More than anything else, I had almost said more than everything else combined, the spirit of unselfishness, of loving appreciation and gratitude that pervades them. Each member of the home strives to give, not to get. Each is quick to recognize all the kindnesses of the rest. And so the tasks of each are a joy. Mutual service is a delight, and never a burden. What a type we have in such homes of what society ought to be! of what it will come to be just in the degree that the unselfish, appreciative, and grateful spirit spreads among men.

And now I come to my other thought,—the spirit of appreciation and gratitude lifted up to the highest object of gratitude and appreciation that man can know —God.

Ought man to recognize *human* goodness, and not that which is *divine?* Do we owe debts to our fellows and not to our Creator? I cannot think so. Rather do I think that all the gratitude we feel, and rightly feel, to our fellowmen, for the unnumbered benefits we receive from them, should lead us to something higher still, as foothills lead to the mountain peaks beyond. For do we not know that the very benefits that we recognize as coming from men, and for which therefore we feel we ought to be grateful to men, came first of all from God? Thus do we owe God nothing? Our life is from him. The world, our home, is from him. All our magnificent inheritances from past generations—the experiences of man for a hundred thousand years on the earth, gathered up and poured down at your feet and mine, in the form of arts, industries, language, spoken and written, utensils, institutions, civilization, religion—they are all from Him. Nay, our very powers of mind are from Him—intellect, will, conscience, by which we find out truth, love, hope, remembrance, build new worlds of the imagination, aspire after the ideal and the perfect, worship. Have we then no cause for appreciation of his Providence, no reasons to be grateful for the simply infinite good that he has bestowed and is all the while bestowing upon us? no obligation to be grateful to Him from whom has come our lives and all that makes our lives rich or sweet or desirable?

We teach our children to be grateful for everything they receive from their fellows—and that ingratitude is a disgrace. Why should we not teach them and ourselves to be grateful to God for his blessings which in number are as the sands of the seashore, in variety like the clouds of the sky, in preciousness like the gold of mines?

For what should we be thankful to God? Here is a poet's answer:

Thanks to God, immortal praise,
For the love that crowns our days;
For the blessings of the field,
For the stores the gardens yield,
Clouds that drop their fattening dews,
Suns that quickening warmth diffuse;
Flocks that whiten all the plain,
Yellow sheaves of ripened grain;
All that spring with bounteous hand
Scatters o'er the smiling land:
All that liberal autumn pours
From her rich o'erflowing stores,—
These to thee, O God we owe,
Source whence all our blessings flow.

Here is another poet's answer. We should be thankful to God

For spring's fair morn, for the rose of June;
For the summer's grace, for the wild bird's tune;
For the autumn leaf, for the harvest's boon.
For sweet hope's born, and for sorrows dead;
For true songs sung, and for fond words said;
For the ready cup, for the daily bread.
For the strength that put bold wrong to rout
For the faith that rose with the victor's shout,
Glad, white-winged from the grove of doubt.
For the race that the faithful feet have run;
For the bitter strife, for the battle won;
For the brave deeds planned, and for brave deeds done. . . .
For the truth that liveth forever more;
For mercy's graciously open door;
For the light that shines from the other shore.

To the question, For what should we give thanks to God? here is an answer which goes down deep:

'Tis easy, O Thou Power divine,
To thank Thee for these gifts of Thine!
For summer's sunshine, winter's snow,
For hearts that kindle, thoughts that glow.
But when shall I attain to this,—
To thank Thee for the things I miss?

Sometimes there comes an hour of calm;
Grief turns to blessings, pain to balm;
A Power that works above my will
Still leads me onward, upward still.
And then my heart attains to this,—
To thank Thee for the things I miss.

Here is another answer which also goes down very deep:

I thank thee, Lord, for mine unanswered prayers—
Unanswered save thy quiet kindly "Nay."
I wanted joy; but thou didst know for me
That sorrow was the gift I needed most.
I wanted health, but thou didst bid me sound
The secret treasuries of pain.
I wanted wealth; 'twas not the better part;
There is a wealth with poverty oft given.
And so, I thank thee, Lord, for these unanswered prayers,
And for thy word, the quiet, kindly "Nay."

Yes, we all may wisely and rightfully teach ourselves to be grateful for clouds and rain as well as for sunshine; for nights as well as for days; for winters as well as for summers; for hard things, when hard things are good for us, as often they are, as well as for easy and pleasant things; often for unanswered as well as for answered prayers; for all experiences which give us strength and endurance and courage and patience, and sympathy with others and ability to help others, and not alone or even primarily for those that bring us happiness at the time, or which merely further our own personal ends. If we are wise I am sure we shall learn to be most thankful of all for the things which most enlighten our minds, most strengthen our

characters, most ennoble our ideals and our purposes, most widen our sympathies, and our affections, and most increase our desires and our abilities to work with our fellows and with God to make a better world.

I close with a Thanksgiving Psalm, written today and for today, which seeks to breathe the same fine spirit of reverence, appreciation and gratitude to God as those of the ancient Hebrew psalmists, but having in view the larger and more wonderful world in which we live, the growing many-sidedness of our modern lives, and the vastly multiplied and richer blessings which we today enjoy. I am sure that a thanksgiving ascription, prayer, hymn, something like this, all thoughtful minds, all reverent spirits and all appreciative human hearts, in our great time, ought to lift to God humbly, gratefully and joyfully every day and hour of our lives.

We thank Thee, O God, for this wonderful World in which we live, with its rich and never-failing contributions of ten thousand kinds to our human needs.

We thank Thee for our Bodies, with their health, strength and joy; and for our Minds, with their marvelous faculties, and powers, ever reaching out after truth and beauty and hope and love and God.

We thank Thee for Mornings of beauty and Evenings of splendor; for Days for activity and Nights for sleep and quiet rest.

We thank Thee for the four-fold Year, with each season's new surprises and charms; for the Spring with its burst of fresh life everywhere,—its buds and flowers, its glorious woods and bird-songs in the trees; for the joyous Summer, with its visions of beauty on every side,—its splendor of hills and sea and wide green earth; for the beautiful Autumn, with its wheat and corn and ripened fruits and its gold of woodlands; and for the magnificence and utility of Winter in its season, with its brilliance of frost and ice and sunsets and star-lit nights, and its kind blanket of snow to protect the earth's sleeping life.

We thank Thee, O God, for our Country,—its freedom, its just laws, all its protection and benefits which we could not obtain alone or without its strong arms and organized life.

With full hearts we thank Thee for our Homes,—for their love and companionships; for their privileges of gladness and sorrow; for fathers, mothers and children; husbands and wives; brothers and sisters; and for all dear home ties, more priceless than gold.

We thank Thee for all our cherished and dear Memories of the past, and also for all the Hopes that smile on us, cheer us and beckon us out of the unknown future.

We thank Thee for the privilege of honest and useful Work, for duties to do, for responsibilities to bear, for all opportunities for service and to make ourselves useful in the world.

For all the Progress of the world we thank Thee, O God; for all leaders of men, searchers of nature, thinkers, inventors, statesmen; artists, poets, and prophets of truth; for all defenders of freedom and justice, heroes and martyrs, through whom the world has made progress; and also for the multitude, humble and faithful, unthanked and unknown lovers of men,—whose toil and faithfulness and suffering, whose genius and vision, whose heroism and leadership have so enriched our lives and the world.

For the Bible and all noble books which have taught men reverence and duty; for Jesus and all great prophets of the soul, who have lifted up high ideals for the world and lighted men's paths toward God and human brotherhood; for all true religion, which has kindled in human hearts hope, faith, joy, consecration and love, we thank the Infinite Giver of all blessings.

For righteousness at the heart of the world; for evil turning into good, and sorrow to joy; for darkness giving place to sunshine; for right victorious over injustice,—no good thing a failure, and no evil thing success; for faith in man, in progress, in Goodness Eternal; for all the Gladness of Life in this wonderful world, and the heart's assurance of Life Everlasting,—for all these things we thank and bless Thee, O God, whose righteousness is like the high mountains and whose mercy endureth forever.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

PART II—CHAPTER X

The First Day in Pretoria

I had expected some one on behalf of Dada Abdulla's attorney to meet me at Pretoria station. I knew that no Indian would be there to receive me, since I had particularly promised not to put up at an Indian house. But the attorney had sent no one. I understood later that as I had arrived on a Sunday, he could not have sent any one without inconvenience. I was perplexed, and wondered where to go, as I feared that no hotel would accept me.

Pretoria station in 1893 was quite different from what it was in 1914. The lights were burning dimly. The travellers were few. I let all the other passengers go, and thought that as soon as the ticket collector was fairly free I would hand him my ticket and ask him if he could direct me to some small hotel or any such place where I might go; otherwise I would spend the night at the station. I must confess I shrank from asking him even this, for I was afraid of being insulted.

The station became clear of all passengers. I gave my ticket to the ticket collector and began my inquiries. He replied to me courteously, but I saw that he could not be of any considerable help. But an American Negro who was standing near by broke into the conversation.

"I see," said he, "that you are an utter stranger here, without any friends. If you will come with me, I will take you to a small hotel, of which the proprietor is an American who is very well known to me. I think he will accept you."

I had my own doubts about the offer, but I thanked him and accepted his suggestion. He took me to Johnston's Family Hotel. He drew Mr. Johnston aside to speak to him, and the latter agreed to accommodate me for the night, on condition that I should have my dinner served in my room.

"I assure you," said he, "that I have no color prejudice. But I have only European custom, and if I allowed you to eat in the dining room my guests might be offended and even go away."

"Thank you," said I, "even for accommodating me for the night. I am now more or less acquainted with the conditions here and I understand your difficulty. I do not mind your serving the dinner in my room. I hope to be able to make some other arrangement tomorrow.'

I was shown into a room, where I now sat waiting for the dinner, and musing, as I was quite alone. There were not many guests in the hotel, and I had expected the waiter to come very shortly with the dinner. Instead Mr. Johnston appeared. He said: "I was ashamed of having asked you to have your dinner here.

So I spoke to the other guests about you and asked them if they would mind your having your dinner in the dining-room. They said they had no objection, and that they did not mind your staying here as long as you liked. Please, therefore, come to the dining-room, if you will, and stay here as long as you wish."

I thanked him again, went to the dining-room and had a hearty dinner.

Next morning I called on the attorney, Mr. A. W. Baker. Abdulla Seth had given me some description of him, so his cordial reception did not surprise me. He received me very warmly and made kind inquiries. I explained all about myself. Thereupon he said: "We have no work for you here as barrister, for we have engaged the best counsel. The case is a prolonged and complicated one, so I shall take your assistance only to the extent of getting necessary information. And of course you will make communication with my client easy for me, as I shall now ask for all the information I want from him through you. That is certainly an advantage. I have not yet found rooms for you. I thought I had better do so after having seen you. There is a fearful amount of color prejudice here and therefore it is not easy to find lodgings for such as you. But I know a poor woman. She is the wife of a baker. I think she will accept you, and thus add to her income at the same time. Come, let us go to her place."

So he took me to her house. He spoke with her privately about me and she agreed to accept me as a boarder at 35 shillings a week.

Mr. Baker, besides being an attorney, was a staunch lay preacher. He is still alive and now engaged purely in missionary work, having given up the legal profession. He is quite well-to-do. He has still kept up correspondence with me. In his letters he always dwells on the same theme. He upholds the excellence of Christianity from various points of view, and contends that it is impossible to find eternal peace unless one accepts Jesus as the only son of God and the Savior of mankind.

During the very first interview, Mr. Baker ascertained from me my religious views. I said to him: "I am a Hindu by birth. And yet I do not know much of Hinduism and I know less of other religions. In fact I do not know where I am and what is and what should be my belief. I intend to make a careful study of my own religion and as far as I can of other religions as well."

Mr. Baker was glad to hear all this and said: "I am one of the Directors of the South Africa General Mission, I have built a church at my own expense, and I deliver sermons in it regularly. I am free from color prejudice. I have some co-workers and we meet at one o'clock every day for a few minutes and pray for peace and light. I shall be glad if you will join us there. I shall introduce you to my co-workers who will be happy to meet you and I dare say you will also like their company. I shall give you, besides some religious books to read, though of course the one book is the Holy Bible which I would specially recommend to you."

I thanked Mr. Baker and agreed to attend the one o'clock prayers as regularly as possible.

"So I shall expect you here tomorrow at one o'clock and we shall go together to pray," added Mr. Baker, and we said good-bye.

There was still little time for reflection. I went to Mr. Johnston, paid the bill and removed to the new lodgings, where I had my dinner. The landlady was a good woman. She had cooked a vegetarian meal for me. It was not long before I made myself quite at home with the family.

I next went to see the friend to whom Dada Abdulla had given me a note. From him I learnt more about the hardships of Indians in South Africa. He insisted that I should stay with him. I thanked him and told him that I had already made arrangements. He urged me not to hesitate to ask for anything that I might need.

It was now dark. I returned home, had my supper, went to my room and sat there absorbed in deep thought. There was not any immediate work for me. I informed Abdulla Seth of it. What, I thought, can be the meaning of Mr. Baker's friendship? What shall I gain from his religious co-workers? How long should I interest myself in the study of Christianity? How was I to obtain literature about Hinduism? And how was I to understand Christianity in its proper perspective without thoroughly knowing my own religion? I could come to only one conclusion: I should make a dispassionate study of all that came to me, and deal with Mr. Baker's group as God might guide me; I should not think of embracing another religion before I had fully understood my own.

Thus musing I fell off to sleep.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

Gandhi Still At Work

Gandhi's reply to the recent petition asking him to emerge from retirement and lead the Indian people again in their movement for independence, upon which petition we commented in UNITY (October 25th), has just been received. We print it in full, as a marvellously clear revelation of Gandhi's spirit:

Ahmedabad, Sept. 8.

Replying to the appeal of Dr. Syed Mahmood and others Mr. Gandhi says:

"Nothing would have pleased me better than to have responded to the public appeal made by Dr. Syed Mahmood and other friends if it was at all possible or in my opinion advisable to do so. The signatories are mistaken in thinking that I have gone into retirement. I have imposed upon myself a year's abstention from all avoidable public engagements. The year is fast drawing to a close. The reasons for abstentions were fully stated at the time. My health and the requirements of the Ashram necessitated rest from toilsome traveling and taxing public engagements. If I have not interfered in the Council matters it is because I have perhaps no aptitude for them. Certainly I have no faith in the Councils giving us Swarai* I have ceased to meddle in the Hindu-Muslim quarrels because my meddling at this juncture, I am convinced, can only do harm. Then there remained

*Note: "Swaraj" in this statement, as always, means independence. "Charka" means native cloth as spun on the spinning-wheel.

untouchability, national education institutions and the spinning wheel. To these I am giving all the attention I am capable of giving. Therefore, I venture to suggest to friends that what to them appears to be my inaction is really concentrated action. I do not in the least share their pessimism. The Hindu-Muslim quarrels are, in a way unknown to us, a fight for Swaraj. Each party is conscious of its impending coming. Each wants to be found ready and fit for Swaraj when it comes. The Hindus think they are physically weaker than the Mussulmans. The latter consider themselves to be weak in education and earthly equipment. They are now doing what all weak bodies have done hitherto. This fighting, therefore, however unfortunate it may be, is a sign of growth.

"It is like the Wars of the Roses. Out of it will arise a mighty nation. The bloody way was opened out to us in 1920 but we could not assimilate it. But even the bloody way is better than utter helplessness and unmanliness. Even the ugly duel between Motilalji and Lalaji is a part of the same struggle. Let the enemies of India's freedom gloat over their differences. These patriots will be working under the same flag long before the gloating is over. They are both lovers of their country. Lalaji sees no escape from communalism. Panditji cannot brook even the thought of it. Who shall say that only one is right? Both attitudes are a response to the prevailing atmosphere. Lalaji who was born to public life with Swaraj on his lips is no hater of it. Now he proposes to mount to it through communalism which he considers to be an inevitable stage in our evolution. Panditji thinks that communalism blocks the way and he, therefore, proposes to ignore it even as auto-suggestionists ignore disease seeing that health, not ill-health is the law of life. The nation can ill afford to do without Sir Abdur Rahim as without Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan. Sir Abdur Rahim who wrote a weighty minute with Gokhale on the Islington Commission is no enemy of his country. Who shall blame him if he thinks that the country cannot progress without Mussulmans competing with the Hindus on equal terms? He may be wrong in his methods but he is none the less a lover of freedom. Whilst, therefore, I can make room in my mind for all these various schools of thought, for me there is only one way. I have no faith in communalism even as a stage, perhaps. Better still I have no fitness for work on that stage. I must, therefore, hold myself in reserve till the storm is over and the work of rebuilding has commenced.

"I can but watch from a safe distance the struggle that goes on in the Councils. I honour those who have faith in them for prosecuting the programme with zeal. It is the educated India which is split up into parties. I confess my incompetence to bring these parties together. Their method is not my method. I am trying to work from the bottom upward. To an onlooker it is exasperatingly slow work. They are working from the top downward, a process more difficult and complicated than the former.

"The millions for whom the signatories have claimed to write are uninterested in party complications which are above their heads. For them there is only the spinning wheel. To paraphrase a celebrated proverb 'The wheels of God spin slowly but most effectively.' I am engaged in attending to these tiny wheels of God. Let the signatories and others who care, note that they are ceaselessly moving. Their efficiency is daily and visibly growing and when the storm has blown over, the parties are united, Hindus, Mussulmans, Brahmans and Non-Brahmans, suppressors and the suppressed have joined hands, they will find that the country has been prepared by silent hands for effecting the boycott of foreign cloth. If the signatories regard themselves as my followers, I invite them to follow the lead of the charka. I have not ceased to lead that little simple wheel which daily hums to me the distress of the masses. For better, or for worse, I have staked my all on the charka, for it represents to me the Daridra Narayana, God of and in the poor, and in the downtrodden."

Some Geneva Gains

Now that the seventh meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations has passed and it is possible to estimate in some measure its contributions to world welfare, there emerge from this historic event certain clearly defined gains, among which the following are the most evident and of widest import.

The first of these was the long step forward toward the outlawry of war. In one of the many gatherings for the instruction of those who visit Geneva to study the new internationalism, a speaker for the League replying to a question said, "In reality the Locarno treaties outlaw war between one another for the signatory nations." It is true that these agreements make somewhat elaborate provisions enforceable in case any of these nations should commit the crime of armed conflict against any other of them. But this does not any the more lessen the significance of the fact that war has been outlawed between them than does legal penalty for crime soften the criminality of the offence in question. The Locarno treaties are now in force and their practical stigmatizing of war between their signatories as a crime together with the Assembly's resolution calling upon other groups of nations to adopt like agreements has provided a direct road towards a formal outlawry of war by all nations at an early day.

The second notable achievement of this meeting was the decided progress made toward disarmament. The Preparatory Commission, engaged in providing themes for the consideration of the anticipated Disarmament Conference, has in the opinion of not a few succeeded well in befogging the entire question by its attempts to define what is meant by armament and disarmament. Side by side with this alleged desire to render any practical move for the lessening of armed forces impossible by burying the question un-

der a mass of statistical data and legal technicalities, stands the Assembly's admission of Germany to a permanent seat on the Council. Again and again at Geneva the changes were rung on the fact that Germany had been given this status because she is one of the great World Powers. As solemnly and impressively as though it had been declared the truth in categorical language, the Assembly proclaimed to the world that the possession of a mighty army or navy does not make a nation great, that armed forces have nothing to do with national greatness. And irresistibly the conviction came to every thoughtful soul: "If Germany can be great with absolutely no navy and no army except a police force sufficient only for internal needs, why cannot Britain and France be disarmed and yet great"? In fact Germany today has a certain moral advantage over Great Britain and France because she has no military power.

It was for this reason that Herr Stresemann's ringing declaration that Germany is determined to employ all her energy and her influence in making the League of Nations universal, permanent and peaceful and that she looks for the settlement of questions growing out of the Treaties of 1919 by cooperative action within the League, most deeply stirred the audience on the great day of her welcoming and fired M. Briand to give utterance to his inspired pledge of staunch friendship between the two neighbor nations—a wonderful moral victory for the Teutonic Republic. When the nations are called upon frankly to face the question of disarmament, the real implications involved in Germany's admission while disarmed to a permanent Council seat will be all-powerful in leading to world demilitarization.

The third incalculably important gain at Geneva last month was the irrevocable advance toward democracy there achieved by the increase of the number of non-permanent Council seats from six to nine. Almost imperceptibly but with the resistless force of destiny, ever since its founding the Assembly has been traveling toward the status of the sovereign power in the League of Nations with the consequent gentle relegation of the Council to the position of Executive Committee, not yet consummated by any means but already envisaged. With the increase of its own representatives in the Council to nine as against the five permanent great Power members, the Assembly now has the controlling voice therein. Furthermore, the Covenant gives it the right at any time to recall the nine representatives whom it has chosen and reconstitute the entire delegation. In consequence exclaimed M. Motta. one of the outstanding leaders in the international world, "The Assembly is sovereign." It was highly characteristic of the growing sense of this sovereignty which is developing in the Assembly that M. Guerrero of Salvadore in the course of one of the debates should have said:

> The sacrifice which is needed to save the situation is the free renunciation by the great Powers of their permanent seats on the Council.

Now the significant fact about the Assembly is its relation to the public opinion of the nations which have representatives therein. Whether appointed or elected these men are extremely sensitive to the idealistic standards of their fellow countrymen. An Assembly member is in a totally different position from that of a national legislator. He stands before the world uncloaked. His words are blazoned everywhere. Nothing can be concealed because sessions of the Assembly have absolute publicity. He feels his representative character keenly. He is not a political creature but the expression of the best in his nation and it is a truism that this renders disloyalty to his people impossible. The Assembly today is the one greatest democratic organ in the makeup of mankind. As M. Moltke of Denmark exclaimed "No State inspired by a spirit of collaboration comes to the League of Nations in order to impose its will on the other States but in order to obtain by common agreement a result which may be generally accepted." Objection is often made to the unanimity required in many lines of League activity but this is one of its largest contributions to world welfare. For majority rule which too often means majority tyranny is obviated and the quest is not to put things over but to lead the nations to universal agreement. This involves slow progress, it explains why the League has seemed so powerless in the sphere of mandates and in questions like Silesia but it posits a new era in world history because it ensures respect for minorities and sets the crown upon persuasion and enlightenment and not upon mob action into which majority rule so often degenerates. It has regard for the most backward and is of the very essence of democracy in world organization.

It is then worth registering that the trend of League development has been along the very lines envisaged by our own nation, and so ably championed for example by Senator Borah, namely, war outlawry, disarmament and a league not of governments but of peoples, with democracy regnant. Some might argue from this a plea for immediate entry of the United States into the League of Nations, but the world seems hardly ready for this. It is well to remember that the *London Times,* Great Britain's "Thunderer," said last December:

> The refusal of the United States to ratify the Guarantee Treaty seemed a grave blow to the peace of the world; we can now see that it was better that Europe should learn that in political matters it must stand on its own feet.

America has been doing for the League by staying out of it these six years far more than it could have done from within. It is helping to build it into the great peace-making mechanism that it should be.

If our people could have seen the real spirit of regard that the rest of the world has for our nation notwithstanding the ill will of Europe over our non-membership in the League, our action as to war debts and the menace of our triumphant capitalism, a spirit notably shown in the debates at the Conference which met to consider the five reservations adopted by our Senate in connection with our proposed adherence to the World Court, there is little question that the immediate completion of that adherance would be overwhelmingly popular in our country. It was unfortunate that carping criticism should have characterized the attitude of two neighbors, closest to us of all fellow countries, Great Britain and Canada, at the meetings of this Conference and that this should have led to the string attached to the rather chilly acceptance by them of our five reservations. The Rumanian delegate expressed the real sentiments which animated most of the Conferees and which but for the exertions of these two "cousinly" States would have led to a cordial reception of America on the basis of our reservations without counter reserve of any kind. The Rumanian statesman's plea for confidence in our good sense and good will was more in accord with the general feeling than the final outcome. But this ac-

tion should not militate against immediate completion of adherence on our part. For our entrance into the Court will give incalculable force to our future influence.

But far more important to the whole world is the opportunity now facing the United States in view of the forward strides taken recently at Geneva. And the debt situation offers a peculiarly fortunate entrance to this opportunity. That American public opinion concerning the question of the remission of war debts has undergone a radical change is evidenced on every hand. The Peabody and Baker protests are not isolated instances. They show the demand of our Nation's conscience. This is no time to postpone our evident duty. We must remit these debts and in doing it we must free the world from its armies and navies. Geneva has shown that the psychological moment for this decisive step has come. One of the most significant actions there taken was the publication in the Journal of the League of a resolution passed by the tenth Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies which reads: "Considering that Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant still leave a loophole for war, the Congress is of opinion that the next Assembly should take immediate steps to close this gap by making aggressive war an international crime." Calling to mind the closeness of these Societies to the League, the inclusion of the remarkable set of resolutions, of which the above is only one, in the publication devoted to the actual work of the Assembly and its Committees, is seen to be most significant. It should be of great comfort to Senator Borah and those of his way of thinking that while a number of nations signatory to the Locarno Treaties have not accepted the compulsory clause of the World Court protocol, obliging them to refer all disputes to this Court, all of them have bound themselves by these Treaties to submit their inter-disagreements not composable by diplomacy to conciliation, arbitration or adjudication and to abide by the decision reached. This substitute for appeal to arms being now in force would seem to make certain the outlawry of war by the League in the near future.

If our President should at once complete our adherence to the World Court and follow that action by a call of all the war-debt nations plus Japan to a Conference on war outlawry, war debts and disarmament, the stage would be set for a new drama in human history.

DOREMUS SCUDDER.

Geneva, Switzerland.

The Study Table

Work and Faith

I love my work; that is my salvation; I delight in this slow stepping towards truth. Search after truth by the careful measurement of facts is the enthusiasm of my life. And of late this has been combined with a realization of the common aim of the great army of truth-seekers; the ennobling of human life. It has been enriched by the consciousness of the supreme unity of science, art, morality; the eternal trinity of the good, the beautiful and the true; knit together in the ideal towards which humanity is constantly striving, knowingly or unknowingly, with failure or success according to the ebb and flow of pure motive and honest purpose.—MS. diary, August 17, 1889.

The author of this *confessio fidei*, and of the book* in which it appears—the famous junior partner of the famous firm of Webb—was one of the famous "Potter Girls." There were nine of them and only one brother, who died in his early youth! The girls were all beautiful, brilliant, beloved, and all married, found place and did work in the world which was remarkable. Thus Margaret became the wife of Henry Hobhouse, and the mother of Stephen Hobhouse; during the latter's imprisonment in the war as the most conspicuous of the conscientious objectors, she wrote "An Appeal to Caesar," and later initiated the inquiry which eventuated in the remarkable report on "English Prisons Today." Theresa married Charles Alfred Criffs, who later, as Lord Parmoor, became a member of the first Labor cabinet. Kate married Leonard Courtney, financial secretary in Gladstone's administration, one of the most distinguished Liberals of his day. Beatrice herself married Sidney Webb and, with him, became the most influential sociological writer of modern times. Then there was distinguished family connections, as for example, a cousin, Mary Macaulay, niece of Lord Macauley, who married Charles Booth, author of that first and greatest of all social surveys, "The Life and Labor of the People in London."

More remarkable, however, than the blood relations in this group, were the friends and associates. Beatrice's father was Richard Potter, her maternal grandfather, Lawrence Heyworth—two of the most powerful capitalist magnates of the nineteenth century. Mr. Potter had the highest political, social and cultural connections, partly through his money, partly through his wide and keen intellectual interests; and the list of the great and the near-great whom Beatrice and her sisters knew more or less intimately reads like a nineteenth century "hall of fame." Every page of this autobiography is strewn with famous names. Herbert Spencer is all through it, as he was a constant and beloved visitor in the Potter home. Darwin does not personally appear, but Huxley and Tyndall do in a relation which indicates close contact. Among literary lights are Thomas Carlyle, Frederic Harrison, W. E. H. Lecky, George Henry Lewes, James Anthony Froude, Olive Schreiner; among political leaders are John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain, Asquith and Haldane; among churchmen, James Martineau, Bishop Creighton, Canon Barnett; among social workers, social reformers, socialists, Octavia Hill, Charles Booth, H. M. Hyndman, Emma Cons and last but not least in this particular life, Sidney Webb. It is a dazzling galaxy of stars which glitters in these pages.

Those who revel, however, in reminiscences which deal thus lavishly and at first hand with the distinguished dead, are pretty certain to be disappointed by Mrs. Webb's book. Not for a moment is she concerned with gossip or even happy memory. Her story, aptly entitled "My Apprenticeship," is written in deadly earnest, and addressed to a highly specialized audience. What she is concerned with is her own personal development from the daughter of a wealthy capitalist, trained in the *laissez faire* philosophy of Victorian England, headed for a career as a social butterfly, to

*"My Apprenticeship," by Beatrice Webb. Published by Longmans, Green & Co, New York.

a Socialist and expert inquirer into the problems of the poor. This explains her almost morbid use of a voluminous manuscript diary, kept through more than fifty years, not a few pages of which are themselves dangerously morbid. Through all her youth, and well down into years of maturity, Beatrice was what William James called "a sick soul." Her personality was almost hopelessly divided between what she herself characterizes as "an ego that affirms and an ego that denies." On the one hand, was the Miss Potter, born out of the past to wealth, station and privileges; on the other hand was the Mrs. Webb-to-be, moving toward her great future of consecrated scholarship and heroic study for the cause of labor. The struggle between the two was terrific, and at many times threatened disaster. It was not really won until her invalid father had died, thus severing the last tie with the past, and Sidney Webb had wooed and won her, thus binding new and permanent ties with the future.

But there is more than revelation, in this book, of intense and torturing personal struggle—of the progress of a soul toward intellectual and spiritual freedom. Mrs. Webb has a more particular purpose still—that of a highly successful professional woman who has mastered a technique of social inquiry, and would now pass it on to her successors. Constantly she speaks of her *"craft;"* one whole chapter of her book is devoted to a study of "the choice of a *craft;"* the outward form of her narrative is that of one primarily concerned with learning the details of an intricate yet highly important *job*. She finds herself following a sister as a rent-collector in East London. This leads her to years of investigation and research as assistant to Charles Booth in his monumental inquiry. She discovers the co-operatives and the trades unions, and sits down to study them as a scientist might study specimens in his laboratory. She becomes a Socialist, convinced that capitalism must be changed into a new order of industrial democracy. But always it is the apprentice learning a trade! From first to last she is impressed with the fact that what is needed is exact data upon which to build, or out of which to fashion, correct theory and wise policy. She is constitutionally suspicious of *a priore* doctrine, of deduction and abstraction. Upon this point she broke early, and courageously, with her guide, philosopher and friend, the great Spencer. Facts, facts, facts as steps to truth this was what she was after! Her desire demanded technique as she speedily realized. And it is her creation of a technique, more perhaps than the fruits won thereby, which marks the triumph of her career.

But there are deeper waters still in this momentous book. In her "Introduction" she raises this question:

> Assuming that there is, or will be, a science of society, is man's capacity for scientific discovery the only faculty required for the reorganization of society according to an ideal? Or do we need religion as well as science, emotional faith as well as intellectual curiosity?

To this Mrs. Webb gives the answer of the mystic. She traces the collapse of religion in the nineteenth century under the twin impact of science and humanitarianism. She shows how men, in that confident rationalistic age, made up their minds to save the world without God's help. But Mrs. Webb is convinced it can't be done! She is herself a woman of prayer. In touching words she makes her confession—"that it is by prayer, by communion with an all-pervading spiritual force, that the soul of man discovers the purpose or goal of human endeavor." During her own crucial years, she says, "it was the habit of prayer which enabled me to survive and to emerge relatively sound in body and sane in mind."

The author closes her book with her union with "The Other One" as she calls him—Sidney Webb. "Here ends 'My Apprenticeship'," she writes, "and opens 'Our Partnership': a working comradeship founded in a common faith and made perfect by marriage; perhaps the most exquisite, certainly the most enduring of all the varieties of happiness."

This seems to promise another volume. May it come soon!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Correspondence

A Plea for Cancellation

Editor of UNITY:

You ask (UNITY, Sept. 20) why we should forgive the debts due from Europe on account of the World War. An echoed *Why?* is not your only answer. Here are reasons:

1. Because payment is not practicable. Such is the well nigh universal opinion of economists. The incurring of such enormous debts was possible only because of the extremely abnormal economic condition created by the war. Cancelling the debts would be the quickest way to normalcy. The attempt to pay them would prolong and aggravate the abnormal situation.

2. In the family of nations the strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak. Our country is vastly richer than Great Britain, France and Italy combined, richer both in natural resources and in capital. We suffered relatively slight losses on account of the war. Our debtors were impoverished by it despite their alleged "burden of loot and swag." For us to demand payment is to flout the brotherhood of man.

3. Because we share with Europe the guilt of the World War, we ought to share the losses it caused and to share them according to our ability. We were indeed not responsible for precipitating the disastrous conflict, but we prolonged it. Had we done our plain duty as the greatest neutral people, the war might have ended in 1916 or even earlier. Had we stayed out of the war, it would almost certainly have ended in the summer of 1917, as G. Lowes Dickinson and others have said with ample justification.

We not only prolonged the war a fatal year and a half, but we also made possible and helped to achieve a military victory for the side we supported. This victory led to terms of peace that were unjust and cruel, containing the seeds of further war and indefinitely postponing Europe's recovery. Our entrance into the war was thus a fearful injury to the peoples of Europe, the Allies as well as the Central Powers. If we thought we were doing good, we know better now or at least we ought to. Common decency forbids us to demand payment for the loans we made *as a part of our evil war enterprise.*

We had far less excuse for entering the war in 1917 than the nations of Europe had in 1914. They were rushed off their feet, so to speak, by the crowding of startling events and by the apparent imminence of military disaster in case they hesitated. We, on the other hand, were not as a nation in the slightest danger, and we had had two years and more to observe what war is and what it does. Nevertheless we played the madman and can not escape a large share of responsibility for the hard and sad years in Europe since 1918 and for Europe's present distress. In these circumstances, for us in our relative opulence to forgive the war debts is no more than a beginning of the atonement we ought to make for the evil we did.

4. The opinion is universal in Europe that we have

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE IN SHANGHAI OUTLINED

"Fourteen Points"

In reorganizing the work of the International Institute of China in the city of Shanghai the Director-in-chief, Dr. Gilbert Reid, presents a program of "fourteen points" as follows:

1. To revise books already published and to prepare new books both in English and Chinese out of an experience of nearly 45 years in China.

2. To continue *The International Journal,* as a medium for the Institute ideas, conciliatory, constructive and helpful, dwelling on the good among all peoples.

3. To have a public reading-room of Chinese and foreign papers and periodicals.

4. To collect a Library of All Religions, in English and Chinese, as illustrating the universal but varied religious sentiment of mankind and the great systems which have been wrought out by the religious thinkers of the ages.

5. To establish a Tu Shu Kuan, containing unique Chinese exhibits and showing the skill of China's past, and to collect photos and paintings of celebrated men of all nations in harmony with the idea expressed by the Chinese name of the Institute.

6. To hold meetings of the Inter-religious section and to secure the best expert exponents of the different religions to give addresses.

7. Later on, in conjunction with the library of all religions and this religious section, to form special conferences of several days' session for more careful study.

8. To develop the work of the sino-foreign friendship group, such as securing members, forming committees, holding meetings and projecting practical schemes for removal of prejudice and misunderstanding.

9. To renew conferences of educationists, Chinese and foreign, Christian and non-Christian.

10. To continue to carry forward the efforts for peace in China, both in the press and on the platform, and also by personal contact, until the day of peace shall dawn on the whole of China and the people shall dwell in security under a liberal and beneficent government.

11. To carry on educational work, such as classes for mass education and a night school for business or vocational training.

12. To retain connections in Peking and also to seek connection in other centres in China. Visits to be made as opportunity arises and as others come forward to carry on the Institute work in Shanghai.

13. To arouse interest in the home lands for these varied phases of a co-operative enterprise.

14. For carrying on all the above work it will be necessary to carry on a financial campaign for more paying members and for voluntary contributions. Like the scheme itself, this financial responsibility will, it is hoped, be equally assumed by both Chinese and foreign friends of the Institute.

NOTE: One point that may interest the readers of UNITY is the one marked No. 4. Books that deal with the subject of Comparative Religion will of course be acceptable. Also books which deal only with the Christian Religion, whatever the phase of thought, conservative or liberal. Let each reader mail at least one book to the International Institute, 318 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai. If anyone is able to donate a large number of books, it is advised that the doner write to the Treasurer of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City, asking if the box could be sent to Shanghai at Institute expense.

Under the fourteenth point, it may be stated that for the coming year it will be necessary to secure from gifts or membership fees the sum of $1,500 (gold). This is really a small amount, and it is hoped that help can be given early. If a larger amount is secured, the Institute will be able to enlarge its work, especially *The International Journal* which is the one paper advocating peace, a "journal of good news."

GILBERT REID.

CONFERENCE FOR FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE

Washington, D. C., Dec. 17-19, 1926

Organizations and Individuals Invited

The call for the conference is extended to all organizations ready to respond to it. We invite particularly:

1. Organizations of Filipinos throughout the United States.
2. Political parties.
3. Labor unions.
4. Pacifist organizations.
5. Student and other anti-military organizations.
6. Negro organizations.
7. Workmen's benefit societies, and other labor organizations.
8. Legislative committees, civil liberties organizations, etc.
9. Labor, liberal and pacifist journals.
10. Prominent individuals who have taken an active part in the struggle for Filipino independence.
11. Filipino Independence Commission at Washington.

Proposed Agenda:

I.—Philippines and American Imperialism.

a. Why is America in the Philippines (trade benefits, rubber, etc.)?
b. History of American rule.
c. Place of Philippines in developing American Empire.
d. Philippines as a Source of Future Conflicts.

II.—Do the Filipinos Want Independence?

a. Official acts of Filipino Legislature, results of popular election.
b. Sweep of the organized Filipino Independence Movement.

III.—Civil Liberties and the Regime of General Wood.

IV.—Significance of the Thompson Mission.

V.—What is to be done?

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no moral right to demand payment. Our insistence on it is bringing us into general contempt and hatred. The billions of dollars involved are not worth having at the cost of the deep and bitter resentment of the peoples of Europe. And we shall not get those billions anyway! We may as well say good-bye to them first as last. But the choice is still open to us whether to win the admiration and gratitude of other nations as the Good Samaritan of the world or to incur their abiding and accumulating hatred as Uncle Shylock.

5. The debts to our country are inseparable from the demands on Germany for reparations. These demands have no justification save on the theory of Germany's pre-eminent guilt in causing the war. That theory, as you well point out, is no longer tenable. The claims for reparations should be abandoned. But Great Britain, France and Italy are now able to plead that Germany must pay them in order that they may pay us. It is time for us to make it easier for them to release Germany by ourselves releasing them. As all the nations that participated in the war share responsibility for that immeasurable disaster, our own nation especially—as already indicated—so all should bear the resulting losses, each in proportion to its ability. *We should call an international conference of the belligerents in the World War to annul the false charge—the foundation of the vicious Versailles Treaty—that Germany and her allies were solely responsible for that catastrophe, and to wipe the slate clean of international debts and claims on account of it.* There is little room to doubt that there will be such a conference eventually, why not now?

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

Brookline, Mass.

[We are glad to print this able letter, although it is a presentation of its own case rather than an answer to ours. We are heartily in agreement with the idea of an international conference to annul the Versailles Treaty, sweep away German reparations, and in general begin again. We simply oppose cancellation *as it is now being discussed*—that is, the United States to waive the debts, and everything else remain as it is! Cancellation alone—No! Cancellation for a *quid pro quo*—Yes!—Editors.]

"Best of All Magazines"

Editor of UNITY:

. . . UNITY is developing under your leadership to be one of the very best of all the magazines that I see. Congratulations and thanks!

CHARLES F. WELLER.

Elizabeth, N. J.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

International.—*An International Committee of Anti-Militarist Clergymen* has been formed as the result of a conference held in Geneva on August 30. Its program is—

"1. To unite the anti-militarist ministers of all churches and denominations, of all countries, and if possible to create new groups and to prepare the way for an international congress to be held at Utrecht in 1928;

"2. to study thoroughly the question of war from the theological and philosophical standpoint;

"3. to demonstrate without delay by word and deed in and outside the churches, against war and preparations for war."

The Geneva Institute of International Relations held in August its third intensive discussion this year on current international problems and the work of the League. About 400 took part, the majority Americans, about 125 British as well as representatives from Japan, Germany, France, Bulgaria, Spain and Switzerland. Twenty-six Universities had sent two professors each, who were mainly concerned with the study of International Law. There was constant stress on the need to appeal to the youth of the world. For the first time, a similar conference for French-speaking people is being held and the subject of Education is to receive special attention.

The Women's International League held a Summer School for Peace Workers at Gland (Switzerland) from the end of July to September. At least thirteen nationalities, including Indian and Japanese, were represented among speakers and students. Lectures were given on educational, political and general social and international subjects. Professor Barany (Sweden) contended for an International University; Mr. Nehru (India) gave an account of the Indian National Movement, and Professor Salvadori (Italy) gave two lectures on Fascism; there were also lectures on African Colonial problems, the Disarmament Commission of the League, and the International Labor Office.

The XXVth Universal Peace Congress was held at Geneva, August 28 to September 3. Delegates from most European countries, from U. S. A. and from Asia took part. A resolution was passed in favor of the abolition of all permanent and semi-permanent seats in the Council of the League, and the establishment of equality of status as regards membership of the Council. To a long resolution proposing the gradual limitation of the sovereignty of States, in favor of an international authority, Dr. Helene Stöcker (Germany) secured, after the keenest division of the whole Conference, the addition of a clause recognizing the supreme right of the individual conscience. Resolutions were also passed protesting against the action of Britain and Italy in Abyssinia, and against oppression in Georgia and Transcaucasia, urging the placing of Tangier under the control of the League, and demanding the complete evacuation of the Rhineland following Germany's entry to the League.

An International School of Politics, suggested by Dr. Robert Barany, a Viennese Professor at Upsala, has recently been discussed by the International Committee for Relations between the Universities, set up by the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. The Committee considered that the project, which aims at the education of statesmen, diplomats, editors and teachers of political science, would be exceedingly valuable; it has therefore decided to ask the International Institute in Paris to make inquiries as to the practical possibilities.

International Labor Office.—The ratification of the Washington Hours Convention by Belgium has been received. This is the first important result of the London Conference on the Eight-Hour Day. The World Convention granting a weekly rest to industrial workers has recently been ratified by France.

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